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MONDAY, MAY 5, 1930

WHOLE No. 635

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THE LITERARY INTERPRETATION OF CAESAR¹

In Chapter III of his work on the Teaching of Latin, Professor Bennett sums up the objections to the use of Caesar as a reading book in the secondary school under the following heads: first, Caesar is undeniably difficult; second, Caesar is not interesting; third, the bearing of Caesar's narrative is not obvious.

With regard to the first objection I have nothing to urge. There seems to be a divergence of opinion, as is to be expected among teachers, as to whether Caesar is very difficult or not. I imagine that the difficulty will vary to a certain extent according to the qualifications of the students and the efficiency of the teacher, but in the main it will be admitted that the passages in indirect discourse are not simple.

Moreover, I do not see how a pupil could be expected to find the point in Caesar's narrative if it is not explained to him, but this is true of almost all historical works and must, of course, be preëminently true when the rate of progress is as slow as is usually the case in beginning Caesar. Fortunately, the pupil in most cases is not anxious to see the remote point. He is satisfied with fixing his attention upon what is immediately in front of him, and if that is comprehensible and evident he cares little for the rest. Now it may be just as emphatically stated that the management and the bearing of Caesar's military operations can be immediately understood. In every case he is looking to an immediate object and taking his measures accordingly. Almost all the episodes are short and can be included within the compass of ten to fifteen pages; and in these episodes, be it the Helvetian War, the war against Ambiorix, the invasion of Britain, the invasion of Germany, the war against Vercingetorix or whatever it be, the measures taken, the actions described have an immediate bearing which cannot fail to be observed by any keen pupil and be made sufficiently evident to any dull one by the proper teacher. Consequently, the third objection of Mr. Bennett, like the first objection, does not seem to me to be of particular importance.

The second objection, Caesar is not interesting, is a more serious one. Professor Bennett states²:

...The writer does not impress us as gifted with imagination, historic or other. He is exceedingly dry. There is little to excite the enthusiasm. The narrative, moreover, is monotonous. We have practically an unbroken chronicle of marches and victories, in which the triumph of trained Romans over undisciplined and poorly equipped Gauls and Germans is nothing surprising. Patches of interest appear here and there, to

be sure, as where Caesar gives us descriptions of the customs of the Gauls, Britons, or Germans. These are brief, however, hardly more than oases in the surrounding desert of military details....

Further on in his article, he maintains that nothing could be more grotesque to the minds of most than to attribute a literary character or quality to Caesar.

...He simply gives us a plain and colorless statement of facts, with hardly any nearer approach to literary charm than does a clear statement of a proposition in geometry....

This attack upon the literary character or quality of Caesar will, in despite of Mr. Bennett's statements, strike most discerning critics as remarkable. It is not important, perhaps, nor is it necessary to enter into a defence of the literary character of Caesar's *Commentaries*, when a man of as keen literary feeling as Mackail can say that

the combination of literary power of the very first order with unparalleled military and political genius is perhaps unique in history.

Mr. Bennett himself states further on that in despite of all these charges against Caesar most teachers cling tenaciously to him, and that many pupils find Caesar interesting, not merely more interesting than Nepos, but possessed of a positive human interest *per se*. This statement, which reflects credit upon Mr. Bennett's candor, ought to have made him very doubtful about his previous position, and ought at the same time to have given him a clue which he has apparently failed to grasp as to why Caesar is interesting. What he finds interesting in Caesar are the descriptions of the customs of the Gauls, Britons and Germans. I have no hesitation in saying that to the majority of pupils and to most grown pupils, who are not ethnologists, these very descriptions which Mr. Bennett finds interesting are the most stupid parts of Caesar. A boy might perhaps be interested in learning whether the Britons were blue-eyed and long-haired and ruddy complexioned or not, but he will not be interested particularly as to whether they lived on milk or beef, nor will he be interested in various other details as to their methods of life. An ordinary boy finds, as is admitted, particular charm and interest in accounts of achievement, in accounts of activity; the more things are done by the actors in the drama the more interested is the boy, and if there is a lot of swashbuckling sword-play the enthusiasm of the spectator will rise beyond bounds. Now this is just exactly what Caesar gives. It may be a matter of misfortune that he sandwiches a great deal of this in between speeches in indirect discourse, and descriptions of the customs of the Gauls, Britons and Germans, but still there is enough for all practical needs.

¹This article was published in Teachers College Record 3 (1902), 238-259. Long ago copies of the issues of Teachers College Record which contained this and other articles grouped under the general caption Helps for the Teaching of Caesar ceased to be available. On the reprinting of this article see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23, 185. C. K. >

²In accordance with the practice of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, quotations of any considerable length are given here 'solid'. C. K. >

The Pictorial Element in the "Bellum Gallicum"

But what I wish to draw special attention to... is this picturesque element in Caesar's descriptions, which while not obvious is at the same time easily brought out by the discerning teacher. Caesar abounds in pictures. By reason of the exigencies of his style, by reason of his crisp and concise statements, his habit (as Mr. Trollope has stated) of combining so many things in one sentence that it needs two or three English sentences to render it adequately, it becomes incumbent upon the teacher to see that all the elements of his narrative are brought out. As a sample of what I mean in very brief form, in the 4th chapter of the first book, after the intrigues of Orgetorix are announced to the Helvetians, Caesar says:

'In accordance with their customs they compelled Orgetorix to plead his cause in chains, and if condemned the punishment must needs follow that he should be burned with fire. On the appointed day Orgetorix gathered together from all sides to his trial all his family connection to the number of ten thousand people, all his clients and debtors, of whom he had a large number, he brought together to the same place, and by their means he saved himself from pleading his cause'.

Now in that brief description, we have a number of elements of picturesque description. The most important thing, from the point of view of the pupil, in order to bring this out to life, is the simple expression "in chains." If the teacher is keen, he will ask his pupils for a picture, either actual or in words, of Orgetorix before the tribunal. It is a good situation for an illustration; an illustrated edition of Caesar would probably have a picture here. And before the tribunal would be standing in solitary state Orgetorix with chains upon his hands and feet. Why should not that be impressed upon the pupil, even if he has not seen it before? The fact that he was to be burned to death afterwards adds interest to the scene. And when we get the assembly of all his tribe and all his friends and all his debtors to the same place, we can very readily understand how he rescued himself. Now it seems to me that a first paragraph like this shows every one of the things that Mr. Bennett denies Caesar the possession of. It seems to me that there is imagination here, pictorial imagination; it seems to me that there is nothing dry in this; it seems to me that there is nothing monotonous in this—nothing to arouse enthusiasm, perhaps, but there are plenty of other places where enthusiasm can be aroused.

For a larger case it may be worth while to cite a passage in the 44th chapter of the fifth book. It is the celebrated rivalry between Pulio and Vorenus. This chapter has a brief dialogue in direct discourse, in which the one challenges the other, and it is simply charged with action from beginning to end. It is a long chapter, twice as long as usual, and in it the action is hurried on so rapidly that the reader has almost no time to take breath. Caesar wakes up to the situation, and expresses the whole scene in the pictorial, historical presents. Let me quote:

'Pulio, as he was fighting vigorously at the fortifications, said: "Why hesitate, Vorenus? What place are you looking for equal to your praise of your valor? This is

the day that will give judgment upon our controversy." And when he had said this he went without the fortifications and where the mass of the enemy seemed to be the densest he makes his attack. Nor does Vorenus stay within the rampart, but out of fear for his reputation he follows along; and when he is close to the enemy's line, Pulio throws his javelin upon the foe and transfixes one of them who was rushing forth from the multitude. Him thus stricken and lifeless, the others protect with their shields, and all of them throw their javelins against his enemy and do not give him a chance to retire. Pulio's shield is pierced, a dart is fixed in his belt. This mischance pushes his sword sheath aside, and when he tries to draw his sword it stops his right hand, and, thus impeded, the enemy surrounds him. Vorenus, his foe, rushes to his assistance, and helps him in his extremity. So immediately against him and away from Pulio, the whole multitude turns, for they think that Pulio is killed by the dart. Vorenus carries on the matter hand to hand with his sword; he slays one, he pushes the rest back a little space; but while he pushes eagerly on he slips and falls into a low spot of ground. Now while he is surrounded Pulio comes to his assistance in turn, and so both are saved, and having slain many of the enemy, come with the greatest glory back into the fortifications. Thus fortune treated each of them variously in their strife and rivalry, so that each one, though the enemy to the other, became on the same day the help and the salvation of the other, and it could not be decided at all which was to be preferred for bravery.'

Now in this description we have all that the most exacting critic could require—the power of vivid imagination and rapid description. It may be a matter of regret that Caesar has not applied more frequently the capacity that he displays here; but this passage shows that he certainly had it in a great degree.

I add a few of the many passages in the *Bellum Gallicum*, where imagery and vigor are evident—sometimes limited to a phrase or two, sometimes more extensively displayed. I designedly limit myself mainly to the first book.

In the twentieth chapter of the first book, Diviciacus with many tears embraced Caesar and began to implore him not to take severe measures against his brother³. The life of the scene is to be found in the attitude and tears of Diviciacus.

In the thirty-second chapter of the same book when the Gauls were in tears before Caesar asking assistance against Ariovistus, the Sequani did none of the things that the rest were doing, but sadly and with downcast heads stood gazing upon the ground. The vigorous part of this scene lies in the attitude of the Sequani, which is offset by the weeping of the rest of the Gauls.

In the thirty-ninth chapter is the famous description of the condition in Caesar's camp before the battle with the Germans. The troops were unable to control their countenances or restrain their tears. Every one was making his will. They hid in their tents and bewailed their fate—or bemoaned the common peril. This scene is one of the most remarkable in Caesar, and must be thrilling when interpreted by a good teacher.

In the forty-third chapter occurs the meeting between Ariovistus and Caesar. What Caesar tells us is meagre

³Pertinent here are some admirable remarks by Mr. J. E. BARRS, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 20.124, in the course of a very valuable article entitled *The Dramatic Element in Latin Grammar* (123-128). C. K. >

enough, but sufficient to give some impression of the locality and the arrangement of the two parties. In the Gotha pictures this scene is presented most inspiringly, with the aid of what the study of antiquities tells us of the appearance, costumes and bearing of the Romans and Germans.

In the forty-sixth chapter the breaking up of the conference is related in brief but sufficient terms and the effect on the Roman troops is also made plain.

In the forty-eighth chapter there is a description of the method of fighting among the Germans which is terse, vigorous and clear, and can be made very interesting to an imaginative class.

In the fifty-third chapter we find a picture of the situation of C. Valerius Procillus, when he was rescued from the Germans, where the vigor of the scene is in the position of the ambassador.

In the second book there are a couple out of many passages to which I desire to draw attention. In the twentieth chapter Caesar tells us what measures he had to take in a very short space of time to meet the crisis in the battle with the Remi. The passage is very excited—the copulas are omitted, the whole is a mass of asyndetic clauses of two or three words each. Nothing could be more vigorous, nothing more rapid, nothing more indicative of Caesar's genius as a commander.

In the twenty-fifth chapter is the well-known long sentence of over ninety words. It shows what Caesar's practised eye took in at one glance as he came up to the hard pressed right wing in this same battle; between the subject and the verb *vidit* are found six verbs in the ablative absolute, asyndetically combined, and six other verbs in the infinitive, with contrasted conjunctions. The passage cannot be paralleled in Latin for the total effect of instantaneous view over a large area of the struggling elements in a battlefield. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the proper interpretation of this passage, and the student who understands fully, and sees completely all the elements in this scene, has learned a lesson in the possibilities of literary expression in Latin which will be of immense value for all subsequent study.

Just one more case, and I leave this part of my subject. In the fifth book, chapters six and seven, to which I shall recur in another connection, are as fine cases of literary genius as the historical style of literature can show. All the resources of rhetoric, and oratorical power are employed—and all the devices which Latin style allows are fully exemplified in these chapters. They will repay the most detailed study.

The Characters in the "Bellum Gallicum"

The *Bellum Gallicum* was preëminently a war between opposing nationalities or types of civilization. Individual leaders were a matter of much less importance than the movements of tribes which they either guided or inspired; hence we look in vain for characteristics of generals or captains engaged, for any analysis of character such as is so frequent in Xenophon, and is made by him a special object in the next to the last chapter of the first book of the *Anabasis*. Names, to be sure, there are in plenty, but they are little more

than names, and for all practical purposes we are in a cloudland where no individual stands out distinct, apart from the movements with which he is identified. In this peculiarity Caesar is not alone. It is characteristic, more or less, of all ancient historiography, and in a small degree of modern, due no doubt to the radically sound principle that the leader in any event is but the crest to the wave which has its movement far deeper, and took this crest by accident. Nor is this peculiarity confined to the leaders of his opponents only. Caesar gives us no pen pictures of his own captains, and, of course, leaves himself out of consideration completely, so that if we would form some idea of the personages who figure in the narrative, we must have regard to their actions and interpret their natures from them. By reason, however, of Caesar's evident desire to give the fullest basis for judgment of all his actions, we are enabled to have a keener understanding of the parts taken by these various men in the great movements of the war, and, with care and attention, it is possible to reconstruct in bold lines the principal figures. I shall, as examples of this, confine myself to the three principal characters in the first book, assuming, of course, that what is done for the first book can be done for those that meet us in the others.

In the first book the first name that meets us is that of Orgetorix, the Helvetian. His activity is confined to Chapters II-IV, and brief is his life upon the page of Caesar's *Commentaries*. Rich he was and noble, in fact the richest and the noblest in his country; a man proud and ambitious also, who saw in his own land no chance for his own advancement except to seize the kingship and in a people nominally free to hold easy supremacy over all his peers. He was cunning and crafty to persuade, so he called together the chief men of his tribe, held out to them a glittering prospect of rule over the whole of Gaul, a sovereign people of a subject race, of which people, while they themselves should be the rulers, he would be the over-lord. It was a brilliant scheme, none the less brilliant because doomed to failure, and in reality not so impracticable if another than Caesar had been in his way.

This ambitious man lost no time in carrying out his plans. That he aimed at a tyranny must have been carefully hidden from the Helvetian nobles, but that the Helvetians would become the ruling class was the bait held out and greedily swallowed, and how far the poison permeated is evident from the fact that even when the prime mover of the scheme was removed, the people persevered none the less in the plan he had laid out for them. In the furtherance of this scheme, which his keen judgment taught him was beyond his unaided powers, he sought a kindred spirit beyond the borders. To do this unobtrusively he became an ambassador of his people to the neighboring tribes of Gaul, to gain their friendship and peace. In the course of this embassy he discovered the man he was looking for in the person of Dumnorix, the Aeduan, brother of Diviciacus, to whom he was so much drawn that he bound him to himself by marriage ties, as well as by the bonds of policy. To him he added Casticus, the Sequanian, whom he induced to seize the kingdom

of the Sequanians; but while he admitted him to the scheme, he did not feel it necessary to bind him to himself by any tie of intimacy, and the justice of his view is evident when we observe that with the overthrow of Orgetorix Casticus disappears also from the scene, while Dumnorix, the bolder man, remains in his original power. The bait that Orgetorix held out to these two is clearly and succinctly given by Caesar in the short indirect speech that he puts into Orgetorix's mouth, *Perfacile . . . confirmat*.

How the knowledge of these dark schemes was divulged to the Helvetians we do not know; Caesar says merely *per indicium*. Perhaps Casticus turned traitor; perhaps a trusted intermediary was bribed; but in any case, it was soon known that Orgetorix intended not merely that the Helvetians should be a sovereign people, but that he should be the sovereign of them. Treason to the State, always a grievous charge, was certainly a very grievous one among the Helvetians. The accused must stand before the tribunal with manacles upon his hands and feet, chained as a criminal—he who had before now been the greatest of his people, the noblest and the richest still, but shorn of his power, his influence and his character. If condemned, he would be burned alive. Was there ever such a contrast, such an overturning of hopes and of carefully laid plans? We are therefore not surprised that he should strain every nerve to escape condemnation. All his kindred—10,000 in number—all his clients, all his debtors—and, as the richest man he must have had a swarm of them—were on hand. He was rescued, but at what cost, and with what result! He saw his glittering future destroyed, his reputation gone, and his exasperated countrymen gathering together to destroy him. To resist meant civil war, with only one end; but it did not come to that, for in the midst of the preparations he died, and Caesar closes his story with the significant words, *Neque abest . . . consciverit*. Suicide was his only honorable way out, and the fact that Caesar gave currency to the rumor reveals to us that in Orgetorix he recognized a master spirit whose designs were as great as his own, and whose end was the end that he himself would choose if fate should be unpropitious, just as Brutus did later on.

It is apparent then that here, in the very beginning of the book, we have an episode of surpassing interest told in the dry clear way of the broad observer of human nature, with not a single important detail omitted from the early aspirations with their foundations in his rank and wealth to the tragic end of a man whom fate and not weakness had conquered.

But this story has a wider significance. Why was not Caesar content to begin his narrative with Chapter V rather than with Chapter II? So far as the Romans were concerned the movement began with Chapter V. I think the reason is easy to discern. It was not merely because in the career of Orgetorix he took a great interest and so far as he could he intended to hand down to posterity the name of a great man who was his opponent, though some such idea may have been in his mind; nor did he know that the migration of the

Helvetians was part of an ethnological movement, and hence had a world meaning—he did not know as much as we do about those things; but he doubtless wanted to show that the Helvetians were a lordly people, that they came forth to conquer and to rule, that no matter what they might say, their errand was not a peaceful one, and that in the conflict with them the Romans were fighting their old battle with the Gauls. The struggle for existence was on again. That a kindred spirit was the immediate cause of the movement added interest to Caesar only, and I have no doubt that had Orgetorix lived and thrived, we should have had a meeting between him and Caesar, and the representatives of two civilizations would have been brought out face to face between the two armies. But this was not to come until Ariovistus appears.

To the casual reader, perhaps, all that I have tried to bring out in these three chapters may not be evident, but when we consider the extreme compression of Caesar's style, and the tendency to conciseness and brevity which characterizes the whole narrative, we cannot, it seems to me, interpret this introductory episode otherwise.

Would I so interpret it to a class beginning Caesar? That is a question not so easy to answer, but I would say emphatically, that the teacher of Caesar should feel in this episode all that I have indicated, should have appreciation of Orgetorix's design, knowledge of his aspirations, sympathy for his downfall, and recognition of his greatness, with the further understanding of the place of the episode in the whole story and, consequently, a proper estimate of the literary element in Caesar that caused its insertion. If he has this in his mind, the teacher will be more interested in the narrative, and will therefore be more interesting to his class. This much, however, may be suggested. Questions for discussion as to Orgetorix's motives, his methods, his aims, his suicide might all be made occasions for slight intimations to an observing class as to what the Helvetian War meant in the history of Rome and, therefore, in the history of nations.

Dumnorix, the Aeduan, is the next character who fixes our attention. He had been chosen, as we have seen, by Orgetorix as a kindred spirit to further his plans.

By our study of this man we are introduced not merely into the political affairs of the Aeduans, but also into a family feud arising from political differences. Dumnorix and Diviciacus were brothers, of a family of great influence and importance among the Aeduans, that tribe on which above all others Caesar relied for assistance in his work in Gaul. Diviciacus was one of the chief magistrates of his people, and seems to have been a man of wisdom and foresight. Some time before he had visited Rome to ask the assistance of the Romans against the Sequani, who had brought in the Germans to support themselves. It was probably on this trip to Rome that Diviciacus first became convinced of the greatness of the Romans and the advantage to be gained from an alliance with them. The assistance he craved, though refused at this time, was granted when Caesar appeared in Gaul.

What had been originally a matter of immediate necessity to Diviciacus became later a matter of settled policy, for it seemed that the safety and consequence of the Aeduans depended upon their close association with the Romans. Probably Diviciacus was right in believing that the supremacy of the Romans was inevitable, and that his best policy was to make as good terms with the conquerors as possible. Perhaps also he actually believed that the civilization, which was bound to come in the Roman train, would ultimately bring upon the Gauls more blessings than they could now foresee. On the other hand, this position was not one that appealed to the people, a proud, volatile, but patriotic people, who felt that slavery to any one was a calamity, but that slavery to a foreigner was worse than a calamity,—it was an infamy. At the head of this party, which may be called loosely the patriotic party, was Dumnorix, who although a private individual, had more actual power in the State than the magistrates themselves.

How Dumnorix obtained this power is told by the other magistrate, Liscus, in Chapter XVIII, where at the same time we have a most interesting account of how any man might obtain influence in a state organized as was the state of the Aeduans. To great family distinction Dumnorix added great boldness of mind, *summa audacia*, says Caesar, combined with a careless generosity which is always very attractive to the unthinking multitude. Accordingly, even at the time that Orgetorix sought him, he had become *maxime plebi acceptus*. Hence when he entered the public competition to bid for the right to collect the taxes of his government, no one had been found willing to bid against him, and he had gotten the office at his own price. The wealth gained by this was spent lavishly; he kept about him a large band of horsemen; cultivated relations of friendliness with important people at home and abroad; went so far as to give his own mother in marriage to an influential Viturigan noble; took a wife for himself from the Helvetians, Orgetorix's daughter, as we know, and bestowed his sister and the rest of his kindred upon men of importance in this state and that. He was verily a kindred spirit to Orgetorix, and one who to his self-seeking aggrandizement added a hatred of the Romans, the greater because not only did the Romans threaten his country, but his own private power as well.

Caesar was quick to recognize in this restless man an opponent of no small importance, and his suspicions were quickly confirmed by the events of Chapter XVI. Not open antagonism was the plan of Dumnorix, but secret and underhand intrigue. The public assistance which the Aeduans owed Caesar by virtue of their agreement with him was withheld by private dillydallying and excuses; and at the most critical period, with an enemy in Caesar's front, or even in the very course of the battle, the defection on the side of the Aeduans was sure to become manifest. For at Dumnorix's orders, the Aeduan Commons were very slow in bringing in the grain supplies, and when the battle was raging the Aeduan cavalry, which Dumnorix commanded, set the signal for retreat.

Why did not Caesar take summary vengeance upon Dumnorix? The reason that he himself gives us in Chapter XIX is this. He was afraid to offend Diviciacus, the brother of Dumnorix. The word he uses in this connection, *verebatur*, rather indicates hesitation due to high esteem and respect for Diviciacus, and his good will towards the Romans and towards himself. But of course motives of policy were added to this personal esteem. The Aeduan people were on the side of Dumnorix. The Aeduan government was on the side of Diviciacus; so to alienate Diviciacus would be to make the state hostile, not only privately but publicly, and even if Diviciacus were not alienated, the disaffection of a popular idol, who was at the time the brother of the chief magistrate, would certainly increase popular disaffection and weaken the brother's power.

This fourth section of Chapter XX contains one of the most profound statements of statecraft and throws great light upon the political sagacity of Diviciacus and Caesar together. As a result of a conference, Caesar called Dumnorix to him, and in the presence of his brother set forth the situation, urging him to mend his ways for the future, and explaining that he overlooked the present for his brother's sake, though he put him under special surveillance so as to be fully apprised of all his actions.

Probably this was the best thing that Caesar could do. At the same time, he must have known that it was only a temporary expedient. The very indignity put upon Dumnorix would inflame his spirit still further and make him more determined than ever in his opposition to Caesar's plans. On the other hand, Caesar must have foreseen that with constant supervision Dumnorix could do nothing that would seriously disturb him, or take any measures which foreknowledge would not give him an opportunity to check. Still the exasperation of continually baffled plans, and the appreciation of personal impotence, might easily lead him to some overt act which Caesar might use for summary punishment at a time when neither criticism nor suspicion could attach to Diviciacus.

Caesar's measures seem to have been successful for a time. At least we hear nothing more of Dumnorix for a considerable interval. That he retained his command of the Aeduan cavalry seems likely, for when we next meet him he still occupied this position. That he pursued the same tactics as before is also not unlikely, for in our final meeting he is still acting after the same fashion. That, however, due either to lack of opportunity or to Caesar's careful watching, he had been unable to effect anything is certain by reason of the obscurity into which he falls during the next three years.

At the beginning of the next book occurs an opportunity where Dumnorix thought he finally had his chance, and where Caesar certainly found him. Caesar was preparing for his second expedition into Britain. Expecting to be gone some time, he was endeavoring to leave matters behind him in as settled a condition as possible. Unruly spirits he proposed to keep near him and to take over to Britain in his train. The one whom,

above all others, he had in his mind was Dumnorix, and he devotes two whole chapters to him—Book V, Chapters VI and VII. He again explains his character, shows how restless his disposition was, how lofty his spirit, how ambitious his designs, how widespread his influence, and then he proceeds to detail the controversy which resulted in his death.

I have already indicated how stylistically important these two chapters are, so that I need not go into that question here; but I will add that no greater tribute to the power and formidableness of this bold spirit could be made by Caesar than the insertion of this episode at this particular place.

Book V in fact begins practically a second broad division of the *Bellum Gallicum*. The second expedition to Britain was to conquer a new country. Gaul was now considered, though wrongly as it turned out, to be practically subdued; but Caesar, like Alexander, having once got the taste of conquest thirsted for additional worlds: so here, as in the first book, he stops before plunging in *medias res*, and to a certain extent plays with the subject. In truth the death of Dumnorix was not an integral part of the Britannic expedition. Its omission would not have affected the narrative in the slightest degree, but it was the final disappearance from the scene of one with whom Caesar had had great trouble. It was a distinct stepping-stone in the march of conquest. It was at the same time the vindication of the policy which Caesar had inaugurated three years before. It was the final defeat of a strong man by a stronger, and in every way an important episode for the study of Caesar's policy and statecraft in general.

Furthermore, from the point of view of literary function, the episode welds together two sections of the narrative, the first four books with the last three, by its direct relation to Book I, Chapter III. Dumnorix makes his first appearance at the beginnings of Caesar's operations in Gaul, his last appearance when the task of conquest was, in Caesar's mind, nearly completed and a new field for operations was to be sought.

As for Diviciacus, little need be said. His importance for Caesar was undoubtedly great, but we are interested in him more as the foil of his brother. He follows Caesar's fortunes with unswerving loyalty throughout. In Book II he assists in the campaign in many places: Chapters V, X, XIV, XV. His voice is always raised for mercy, and his work is always ready. His tried honor and loyalty made him the most useful man for the reorganization of Gaul, and he was, of course, left behind when Caesar went to Britain. He appears in Book VI, Chapter XII, in a general view of the state of Gaul at Caesar's arrival. In the seventh book, where the last mention of him is made, he seems to be already sometime dead, but how he passed away, whether by natural death or not, Caesar does not inform us. He had used him so long as was necessary, and to his memory he gives not a single line either of regret or appreciation.

(To be concluded)

GONZALEZ LODGE

Characters and Epithets. A Study in Vergil's Aeneid.

By Nicholas Moseley. Yale University Press (1926). Pp. 104 + liv.

The purpose of Mr. Moseley's dissertation, *Characters and Epithets, A Study in Vergil's Aeneid*, is to prove that Vergil was deliberate in his use of epithets in the Aeneid. Mr. Moseley endeavors to show this by contrasting (3-7) Vergil's use of epithets with the way in which Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Catullus employed them, by considering the more striking epithets (7-12), and by detailed study of the epithets used of Dido, Juno, Venus, Ascanius, and Aeneas (22-101).

In Homer we very seldom see any fixed purpose behind the introduction of epithets. Both Apollonius and Catullus seem intentionally to avoid the introduction of the conventional and commonplace epithet. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius the name Jason is found forty-one times, but only once with an epithet. In his poem about Peleus and Thetis (Poem 64) Catullus mentions thirty-six characters; of these only twenty have epithets with their names. The only epithet that is used twice is *ferox*. Vergil, following literary tradition in the use of epithets, seems to have been led by his study of the way in which the Alexandrian poets used epithets to modify the Homeric mannerisms in that regard (5-7).

Epithets are divided into (1) examples of *anonymasia*, i.e. epithets substituted for proper names, (2) complex epithets, and (3) repeated epithets. Epithets of the first class (nearly one-half of the entire number) are used for stylistic and metrical reasons: examples are Atrides, Iulus, Elissa, *nate dea*. The complex epithets (about two-fifths of the whole) give information, especially about minor characters. The repeated ('formulaic') epithet (the epithet which occurs four or more times with the same name) shows a strong tendency to recur in the same position in the verse. Those which have quantities that require clash of accent and ictus are found at the beginning or in the middle of a verse. This, however, does not explain why a particular epithet is chosen or is repeated.

The general effect of continued repetition of an epithet with the name of a given character (16) is to associate the quality or the attribute it represents with that character (compare *fidus Achates*). The poet may wish to establish this association in order to explain the actions of a character, or to impress some fact important to the plot upon the reader's mind (compare *Latinus rex*), or to indicate the tenor of a passage (*vates* is used thus of the Sibyl), or to enhance the emotional appeal of an episode (compare *puer*, said of Euryalus).

In the analysis of Dido's character (22-26) Mr. Moseley maintains that the two most prominent epithets, *regina* and *infelix*, show at once the respect which she commanded and her destiny as ill-fated. A chart (28) shows the relative number of references to Venus and to Juno in the different books of the Aeneid.

One important general consideration is brought out in Mr. Moseley's chapter on Juno (29-42). In Books 1-6, though Juno is mentioned forty-one times, the

epithet *Saturnia* is used of her only four times¹; in Books 7-12, which deal with the war between the Trojans and the Italians, she is mentioned thirty-one times, and the epithet *Saturnia* is used of her twelve times. Quite obviously her relation to the Italians is brought to mind by the epithet. This is made all the clearer (36) by the reconciliation scene in Book 12 (819-842), where Jupiter, calling Juno *Saturnia* (830), speaks to her of the Italians as *tuorum* (820). Might not the single reference to *Saturnius pater* (4.372) be explained as denoting the guiding spirit of all the peoples of Italy, indigenous and immigrant? It should be noted that *maxima Iuno* (= *Terra mater*) is coupled (371) with *Saturnius pater* in the same passage in Vergil. In discussing *maxima Iuno* (39) no reference is made to the significance of Aeneid 8.81-84. The artist who represented Aeneas on the altar of the Belvidere (see Lily R. Taylor, *The Mother of the Lares*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 29 [1925], 309, and the references there) had undoubtedly in mind the identification of Juno and Terra Mater, mother of the Lares and the Penates, to whom a sow was sacrificed.

Out of the sixty-two occurrences of epithets of Venus (43-46), forty-eight deal with the divinity of the goddess or with her relation to Aeneas. This fact is linked with the original purpose of the Aeneid, and must have created valuable contemporary interest in connection with claims of Julius Caesar and of Augustus to descent from Venus Genetrix.

Then follows a chapter Ascanius-Iulus (47-67²). The development of Iulus is indicated by the use of *parvus* (2.563), *puer* (1.267), *surgens* (4.274), and *impubis* (5.546). We have then a discussion (55-67) of the conflicting traditions relating to Ascanius and Vergil's definite stand for two parallel lines of descent from Aeneas. The author suggests that, in 6.788-790 (where Anchises is pointing out to Aeneas the great Roman families), we have proof that Vergil intended that the distinction between the Alban line (descended through Lavinia) and the Julian line of descent should be apparent. It is not without significance that the cognomen *Iulus* is used about as many times as the name *Ascanius* is employed (66).

In this part of the dissertation considerable space (68-101) is naturally devoted to the character of Aeneas as exemplified in the epithets applied to him. Mr. Moseley, from a study of the twelve places where the epithet *pious* is used of Aeneas, brings out here the important fact that the epithet refers to actual ministrations to the gods by Aeneas. The emphasis on the *pietas* of Aeneas is explained (99) by reference to the public character of Augustus—a reference which is made all the more certain by Horace's words in *Carmen Saeculare* 36-52. The justice of ascribing to Donatus a comment on Eclogue 6.3 is not clear to me; Mr. Moseley seems, here, to be quoting from Professor Frank's Vergil. It is true that there is a 'Servius-

Auctus' note of some value on this verse, but can we yet claim all such comment for Donatus?³

There are two Appendices and a short Bibliography. The first Appendix (iii-xxvi) gives in alphabetical order all the personal names in the Aeneid with the epithets used with each name and the references to each occurrence. The author seems to have done his work well here.

The list of all the personal epithets is given in the second Appendix (xxix-xlix) with the names of the character to which each epithet is applied. The frequency with which each epithet is applied to a character is indicated by a number. This list is followed by an index of authors and of matters touched upon in the dissertation (li-liv).

This dissertation is a welcome addition to the growing body of creative criticism of Vergil, especially by American scholars. Mr. Moseley weighed his evidence well, and, within the limits he set for himself, contributed something to our better appreciation of the Aeneid. Moreover, future revisers of the supplement to Roscher's *Lexikon* (J. B. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum Quae apud Poetas Latinos Leguntur*) will have to reckon especially with Mr. Moseley's carefully prepared Appendices.

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SOME REMARKS ON "CHAIRS" IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

I have long thought that an admirable edition of Juvenal could be made by some one who should read widely in English literature, and even more widely in English writings not strictly literary in character, with a view to illustrating the phenomena of life, good, bad, and indifferent that appear in Juvenal's pieces. In particular, the third satire of Juvenal could be richly illustrated in this way. I have indicated the sort of thing I have in mind by remarks I have published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.121-123, 176, 13.104, 14.113-114, 121-122, 18.65-68, 21.35, 106, and note 9.

I have long been interested in Juvenal's references to the *sella* and the *lectica*, conveyances (enclosed chairs or beds) in which persons were carried about through the streets of Rome on the shoulders of two, four, six, or even eight bearers. Compare e. g. Juvenal 1. 64-65 cum iam sexta cervice feratur hinc atque hinc patens ac nuda paene cathedra... (see the editors on this passage). For other references to the *sella* in Juvenal see 1.124 clausam...sellam, and 7.142. For the *lectica*, or portable bed, see Juvenal 1.32, 1.121 densissima centum quadrantes lectica petit, 3.242 facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra, and 10.35.

In what follows I have put together some fugitive observations on references to 'chairs' or 'sedan chairs' in English literature. I need not say that I have merely scratched the surface of the subject.

Sedan chairs, said to have been named from a town in France, were introduced into western Europe in the sixteenth century. According to *The Century Dictionary* and *Cyclopaedia*, under Sedan, they were first seen in England in 1581. They were regularly used there after 1634, especially during the eighteenth century. They were the common means of transportation for ladies and gentlemen in the cities of England and of France in the eighteenth century. They were often

¹Compare here the paper by Dr. E. D. Daniels, *Vergil's Use of Certain Adjectives*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.168. C. K. >.

²See an article entitled *The Boy Ascanius*, by H. O. Ryder, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 10.210-214. C. K. >.

³See G. Funaioli, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica*, 33.143, a review of an article entitled *The Scholia in the Vergil of Tours*, *Bernensis* 165, published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 36 (1925), 91-164.

lined with rich silk, and were elaborately decorated with paintings by artists of note.

Evelyn's diary for February 8, 1645, declares that sedans were first brought to England from Naples by Sir Sanders Duncombe (see volume 1, page 161 of the work mentioned in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 22.109, note 1). Evelyn gives no date for this event. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, 20.270, under Sedan-Chair, makes a like statement, without, however, mentioning Evelyn as the authority for it, and adds the date.

Dryden (1631-1700) employed the word 'chair', meaning 'sedan chair', to translate *sella* as used by Juvenal (1.124). Pope (1688-1744) used the word in the same way in *The Rape of the Lock* (1.46):

"Think what an equipage thou hast in air
And view with scorn two pages and a chair".

A book, by S. Clarke, published in 1671, describes the way in which well-to-do people in India are "carried on men's shoulders in Sedans, which they call palankeans", and Hakluyts *Voyages* (2.221) mentions "palanchines or little litters, very commodious for the way".

In *A Voyage to Lilliput* 'chairs' are mentioned more than once: see e. g. Chapter VII, at the beginning, "a considerable person at court... came to my house very privately at night in a close chair"; Chapter III, "the Empress herself... let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage".

Swift's ascription of the "close chair" to the Lilliputians illustrates the statement of the *Century Dictionary* that in the eighteenth century the 'chair' was the common means of transportation in England.

The Brobdingnagians, too, used Sedan chairs, with four bearers. See Chapter IV.

The date at which 'chairs' ceased to be used cannot be definitely fixed, but it seems probable that they were of small account after the close of the eighteenth century.

The book called *Cranford*, published somewhere in the forties of the nineteenth century, has one belated specimen surviving in a country village, characteristically far behind the times, and a similar condition is described in *Pickwick Papers*, published in 1830, or thereabouts.

The main allusion to sedan-chairs in Mrs. Gaskell's book, *Cranford*, occurs at the close of the chapter entitled *Visiting*. The ladies have been taking tea at the house of Miss Betsey Barker.

"Not long after this the maids and the lanterns were announced. Mrs. Jamieson had the sedan chair, which had squeezed itself into Miss Barker's narrow lobby with some difficulty, and most literally 'stopped the way'. It required some skilful manœuvring on the part of the old chairmen (shoemakers by day, but when summoned to carry the sedan dressed up in a strange old livery—long greatcoats, with small capes, coeval with the sedan, and similar to the dress of the class in Hogarth's pictures), to edge, and back, and try at it again, and finally to succeed in carrying their burden out of Miss Barker's front door".

The next chapter, which describes the call paid by the ladies on Mrs. Jamieson, in the course of the visit made to that lady by Lady Glenmire, there is another slight allusion to the sedan chair, in these words:

"Don't you find it very unpleasant walking?" asked Mrs. Jamieson, as our respective servants were announced. It was a pretty regular question from Mrs.

Jamieson, who had her own carriage in the coachhouse, and always went out in a sedan chair to the very shortest distances".

In Tom Brown's *School Days*, Chapter VI, there is an allusion to an antiquated sedan chair, one of whose bearer's was "Stumps".

There are various allusions in Thackeray to 'chairs'. I give some of those to be found in Henry Esmond, *Compare Book II, Chapter X*:

"when she went to church <he> was sure to be there, though he might not listen to the sermon, and be ready to hand her to her chair if she deigned to accept of his services, and select him from a score of young men who were always hanging round about her..."

In the same chapter, on the next page, one reads, "Beatrice thought no more of him than of the lacquey that followed her chair..."

In Book II, Chapter XV, this passage occurs:

"But from Bruxelles, knowing how the Lady Castlewood always liked to have a letter about the famous 29th of December, my Lord writ her a long and full one, and in this he must have described the affair with Mohun; for when Mr. Esmond came to visit his mistress one day, early in the new year, to his great wonderment, she and her daughter both came up and saluted him, and after them the Dowager of Chelsey, too, whose chairman had just brought her ladyship from her village to Kensington across the fields..."

In the same chapter we find this:

"No doubt, as a kinsman of the house, Mr. Esmond thought fit to be the last of all in it; he remained after the coaches had rolled away—after his dowager aunt's chair and flambeaux had marched off into the darkness towards Chelsey, and the townspeople had gone to bed, who had been drawn into the square to gape at the unusual assemblage of chairs and chariots, lacqueys and torchmen..."

In Book III, Chapter IV, I find this passage: "<His Grace, the Duke> had come in his chair from the palace hard by, and wore his two stars of the Garter and the Thistle..." In the next chapter this passage occurs:

"...Prometheus I saw, but when first I ever had any words with him, the giant stepped out of a sedan chair in the Poultry, whither he had come with a tipsy Irish servant parading before him, who announced him, bawling out his Reverence's name, whilst his master below was as yet haggling with the chairman..."

Two or three pages further on I read:

"The Colonel then, having writ a paper for one of the Tory journals, called the *Post-boy* (a letter upon Bouchain, that the town talked about for two whole days, when the appearance of an Italian singer supplied a fresh subject for conversation), and having business at the Exchange, where Mistress Beatrice wanted a pair of gloves or a fan most likely, Esmond went to correct his paper, and was sitting at the printer's, when the famous Doctor Swift came in, his Irish fellow with him that used to walk before his chair, and bawled out his master's name with great dignity..."

Finally, I cite this from Book IV, Chapter X:

On the 27th of July, the lady in question, who held the most intimate post about the Queen, came in her chair from the Palace hard by, bringing to the little party in Kensington Square intelligence of the very highest importance..."

CHARLES KNAPP